

Message Text

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41

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 ACDA-19 IO-14 AF-10

EUR-25 USSS-00 DPW-01 DRC-01 /145 W

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FM USINT CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0000

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY TELAVIV

USMISSION USUN

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EO 11652: NA

TAGS: PFOR EG US

SUBJECT: HEYKALS PRE-KISSINGER VISIT ARTICLE

SUMMARY: HEYKAL STATES THAT ABILITY OF US TO MOVE ISRAELI FORCES BACK TO OCTOBER 22 CEASEFIRE LINE WILL BE TEST OF US ABILITY TO ACHIEVE SETTLEMENT ON BASIS SC RES 242

1. IN EXTRAORDINARY ARTICLE, WHICH WE BELIEVE WAS PREPARED IN ANTICIPATION OF SECRETARY'S ARRIVAL, HEYKAL FOCUSES ON THE US ROLE IN ME SETTLEMENT. ARTICLE IS DIVIDED INTO THREE PARTS WHICH CONCERN (A) EGYPTIAN/US RELATIONS; (B) EGYPTIAN RESERVATIONS ABOUT US ATTITUDE; AND (C) TESTING US CAPABILITY REGARDLESS OF US INTENTIONS. ON US/EGYPTIAN RELATIONS HEYKAL SAYS HE HAS ALWAYS ADVOCATED NEED TO NEUTRALIZE US. THIS CANNOT BE DONE BY APPEASEMENT, BUT BY EXERTION OF MAXIMUM PRESSURE ON US IN ORDER TO NARROW AMOUNT OF DAMAGE US CAN CAUSE EGYPT BY ASSISTING ISRAEL. NEVERTHELESS, HE ALSO ADVOCATES COMMUNICATION WITH US, SINCE NO INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM CAN BE

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SETTLED WITHOUT CONTACT WITH TWO WORLD SUPERPOWERS.

2. HEYKAL STATES EGYPTS RESERVATIONS ABOUT US DEVOLVE UPON A) US AID TO ISRAEL AND B) WEAKNESS OF PRESIDENT NIXON. BOTH ARE INTER-CONNECTED, SINCE SPECIAL INTERESTS GROUPS IN US WHICH DEMAND AID TO ISRAEL CAN HAVE POWERFUL EFFECT IF AMERICAN PRESIDENT IS UNABLE TO EFFECTIVELY ASSUME LEADERSHIP. IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, MOREOVER, HEYKAL STATES NIXON IS TOO BUSY DEFENDING HIMSELF TO TAKE ANY REAL INTEREST IN DEFENDING US STRATEGIC INTERESTS IN ME. A WEAK US PRESIDENT IS NO JOY TO EGYPT; FOR WHILE HE MAY HAVE KNOWLEDGEABLE AND EFFECTIVE SECRETARY OF STATE, EVEN KISSINGERS AUTHORITY IS IN QUESTION SINCE IT DEPENDS UPON THE AUTHORITY AND PRESTIGE OF THE PRESIDENT.

3. OTHER RESERVATIONS CONCERN US INTENTIONS. CONVENTIONAL US THINKING HAS BEEN THAT GIVING ISRAEL ARMS GIVES ISRAEL REASSURANCE AND FLEXIBILITY IN NEGOTIATIONS. EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN FALLACY OF THIS, SINCE ISRAEL USES ARMS AS MEANS OF THREAT AND CONTINUANCE OF AGGRESSION. ALSO, HEYKAL SAYS HE FEARS THAT WASHINGTONS OBJECTIVE IS TO PROCRASTINATE SO THAT TENSIONS WILL BE REDUCED IN AREA. THIS OCCURRED AFTER ROGERS INITIATIVE IN 1970 WHICH BROUGHT HALT TO WAR OF ATTRITION. MOREOVER, US MIGHT WISH TO SEEK AN AMERICAN SOLUTION WHICH IN FACT IS AN ISRAELI SOLUTION.

4. LAST PART OF HEYKALS ARTICLE IS DEVOTED TO QUESTION OF HOW TO TEST US INTENTIONS. IT IS EGYPTS RIGHT, HE SAYS, TO ASK PROOF OF US CAPABILITY TO PLAY PRINCIPAL ROLE EFFECTIVELY, REGARDLESS OF HER INTENTIONS.

QUOTE: SPECIFICALLY, WE SHOULD ASK THE USA TO CONVINCE ISRAEL OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF HER ATTITUDE BY OBLIGING HER TO GO BACK TO THE OCT 22, 1973 POSITIONS. IF THE USA PROVES UNABLE TO DO SO, HOW THEN CAN SHE PERSUADE ISRAEL TO RETURN TO THE JUNE 4, 1967 LINES IN COMPLIANCE WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION NO 242, WHICH IS THE BASIS UPON WHICH WE ACCEPTED THE CEASEFIRE RESOLUTION?

"WITHOUT RETURN TO THE OCTOBER 22 POSITIONS, TALK ABOUT ISRAELI PRISONERS OF WAR AND LIFTING THE EGYPTIAN NAVAL BLOCKADE AT BAB EL MANDAB WOULD BE A JOKE. IF WE ARE TOLD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THAT THIS ISSUE WOULD BRING UP ENDLESS TECHNICAL DETAILS, THEN THE BEST THING TO DO IS TO GO DIRECTLY INTO DISCUSSION OF DISENGAGEMENT ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT ISRAEL WOULD BEGIN PULLING OUT OF THE WESTERN BANK OF THE SUEZ CANAL. END QUOTE. HEYKAL ADDS THAT US MUST CONVINCE EGYPT SHE IS SERIOUS BY STOPPING ARMS FLOW TO ISRAEL IF ISRAEL DOES NOT COMPLY WITH US DIRECTIVES--OR AT LEAST US SHOULD PLACE RESTRICTIONS ON SOME OF SOPHISTICATED WEAPONRY INCLUDED IN THIS FLOOD OF ARMS.

5. HEYKAL CONCLUDES THAT EGYPT HAS ADEQUATE MEANS OF POWER TO RESUME FIGHTING, AND ARAB PRESSURE IN ALL FORMS CAN BE STEPPED UP. HE NOTES THAT RESOLUTION WHICH EGYPT ACCEPTED WAS COSPONSORED BY BOTH US AND USSR AND THAT IT IS GUARANTEED BY BOTH SUPERPOWERS. MOREOVER, EGYPTS FRIENDSHIP WITH USSR, WESTERN EUROPEAN DISILLUSIONMENT WITH US, AND INFLUENCE OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES CONTINUE TO ISOLATE ISRAEL. FINALLY, HE STATES THAT EGYPT MUST PRESS CONFRONTATION UNTIL THE END, WITHOUT BEING UNDULY PESSIMISTIC OR OPTIMISTIC.
SMITH

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MILITARY ASSISTANCE, PRESS COMMENTS, ARMISTICE, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, MINISTERIAL VISITS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 04 NOV 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973CAIRO03340
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: CAIRO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731156/aaaabovt.tel
Line Count: 126
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11 DEC 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <11-Dec-2001 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <07-Jan-2002 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: HEYKALS PRE-KISSINGER VISIT ARTICLE SUMMARY: HEYKAL STATES THAT ABILITY OF US TO MOVE ISRAELI
TAGS: PFOR, EG, US, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (HEYKAL)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005